PUBLICK GOOD Without Private INTEREST:

OR,

A Compendious *Remonſtrance* of the preſent ſad State and Condition of the Engliſh Colonie in VIRGINEA.

WITH

A Modeſt DECLARATION of the ſeverall Cauſes (ſo far as by the Rules of Right, Reaſon, and Religious Obſervation may be Collected) why it hath not proſpered better hitherto

AS ALSO,

A Submiſſive ſuggeſtion of the moſt prudentiall probable wayes, and meanes, both Divine and Civill (that the inexpert Remembrancer could for the preſent recall to minde) for its happyer improvement and advancement for the future.

Humbly preſented to His Highneſs the Lord *Protector*,
By a Perſon zealouſly devoted,
To the more effectual propagating of the Goſpel in that Nation,
and to the inlargement of the Honour and Benefit, both of the ſaid Colonie, and this whole Nation, from whence they have been tranſplanted.

Qui ſibi ſoliim ſe natum putat,
ſecum ſolus ſemper vivat,
Hoc ſolum habent homines cum deo commune,
Alia bene facere Syres.

To do good, and to communicate, forget not:
for with ſuch ſacrifices, God is well pleaſed, *Heb.* 13. v. 16.

LONDON,

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To his Highneſs, the Lord *Protector* of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The humble Petition of *Lionel Gatford*. B.D.

Moſt humbly ſheweth.

WHereas your Petitioner, upon your Highneſs gracious diſpenſation for the exerciſing of his Miniſteral function &c. (a favour never to be forgotten by him or his) did indeavour the procuring admiſſion into a ſetled Cure of ſouls, but was denied it by ſome Commiſſioners clayming authority under you. Your Petitioner (being willing to interpret that act of theirs, as well as all things elſe that happens to him from men in the moſt charitable ſenſe he can, and knowing Gods hand to rule and over-rule, as he pleaſeth in the moſt ſeemingly accidentals amongſt mortals) began thereupon to conſider with himſelf; whether God might not in his mercy deſign him, to what ſome men, in too much unkindneſs had doomed him, *viz.* to ſome more Apoſtolical way of preaching, either from houſe to houſe, here in his native Country, or (if he had but the Apoſtles gift of tongues) throughout the whole world habitable abroad. For he could not think, that God had cal-

led him to be a miniſter of the Goſpel, and inabled him im in ſome poor meaſure for it, and honoured him with ſo long continuance and good ſucceſs in it (to the praiſe of his grace only be it ſpoken) to that end, that, when he had ſo long ſerved him, as a publike teacher of men, he ſhould at the laſt, end his dayes in the privat teaching of Children; though he undervalues not that his preſent imployment by preferring that other before it; nor will he receed from it (God inabling and your Highneſs permitting him) till he have educated thoſe that are or ſhall be committed to his care and tuition, if their friends ſhall require it. Whereupon your Petitioner caſting about and making inquiry, in what Country or Nation he might do God moſt ſervice; poor neglected deſpiſed *Virginea*, and the Engliſh Colonie there, with the adjacent heathen inhabitants of the ſame continent, came often and often into his thoughts; and his bowels yerned towards them; eſpecially, after that he had underſtood, from ſome men of honour & honeſty, their preſent ſad ſtate & condition, and the fair hopes and probabilities of doing God and them very much ſervice there. Onely the prime καιρον, whereby he conceives, he may moſt prudentially judge of the likelyhood of his ſucceſs in undertaking ought for the good and benefit of that people, will be your Highneſs aſſiſting or not aſſiſting in the information of what is already experimentaly found to be the grand hindrances of that colonie's proſpering amongſt themſelves, & the main impediments of the Goſpel's fart har propagating both amongſt themſelves and amongſt their neighbouring Indians, and are here with humbly preſented

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unto you: For unleſs thoſe things complained of in this Remonſtrance be redreſſed and the Government (as is therein humbly deſired) be put into good hands, skilfull to mannage it; and ſuch a publick profeſſion of Religion, both for Doctrine and worſhip, be eſtabliſhed, and ſuch a fence of diſcipline ſet about it, as that both thoſe, who would remove from hence thither, may before hand know what Religion they may there enjoy, and when they come thither be aſſured to enjoy it; and the Heathen alſo thereunto adjoyning, may from the very eternal order and beauty thereof, as well as for the unanimous, conſtant profeſſion and practiſe of it amongſt thoſe of the Colonie, be fairely united and ſweetly drawn to the ſame Chriſtian communion and fellowſhip with them; it cannot be expected, that either your Petitioner, or any other, how zealouſly affected ſoever they are to the advancement of Gods glory, and the propagation of the Goſpel of Chriſt ſhould leave their preaching and other Miniſtration here in their own native Country that ſo much needs them, though they ſhould be allowed to preach no where but in bonds and fetters, or in caves and other hiding places, (which they fear not, ſo long as your Highneſs ſhall retain the Soveraign power ſolely in your own hands) and go into *Virginea* to labour there in utter impoſſibilities, or to be thruſt out from labouring, when any probabilities of doing good ſhould be offered them, only upon the diſtaſt or ſuggeſtion of any turbulent or vicious perſons that ſhall complain of them to a Governour, as indiſcreet and vicious as themſelves. If a preacher had ſaint *Pauls* immediate call to bear Chriſt's name before

fore the Gentiles, as well as Gods own Israel, or were otherwiseas well assured, of the like call; all seeming impossibilities of doing good, and all affrighting fears of suffering evill would soon vanish, and he would account it honour sufficient to suffer for Christ, where his preaching of Christ, should be rejected or rendered successless. But, where a Preacher is to conclude his call to any people, as well from the door of hope, that is opened to him for his glorifying God, and doing good to men, as from Christs inward knocking at the door of his heart by the motions of his holy Spirit(not discernable from the impulse of his own Spirit, but by the concurrence of Scriptural exhortations and perswasions, or clear deductions from thence, tending to the same ends without any by ends of his own)there it would be deservedly reputed little less than madness for any to undertake the preaching Christ to the Heathen, when the wicked lives and unjust perfidious, cruel, bloody practises of those, that call themselves Christians, and profess the same faith with that Preacher, lye in the door, and barr up the way against his entering into them and their opening unto him: and it would be more possible for him to remove Mountains, than any to remove that impediment of scandel, unless your Highness set to your helping hand, and reform by your power and authority, derived to some pious prudent, upright Governour under you, as well as the Ministers of the Colonie indeavour it, by their faithfull preaching and holy conversation.

May it therefore please your Highness, in compassion of

that

that great Colonie, and in commiſeration of ſo many thouſand ſouls, both Chriſtian and Heathen, as that Colonie and continent, wherein they are ſeated, abounds with, to vouchſafe your beſt ſkill, and to exerciſe your utmoſt power (for the work needs and deſerves both) for the effecting that great and glorious deſign, the preſervation of that Engliſh Colonie from ſuddain temporal ruine, and the ſaving both them and their neibouring Indians from eternal perdition; the ſole and ſoul deſire of your unworthy Petitioner, & the only crime of his inſuing Remonſtrance. And your Petitioner which thouſands of thouſands more ſhall inceſſantly pray for your Highneſs &c.

To

TO THE Candid Reader.

Luke 14. HE that ſets himſelf to do any good, eſpecially for the publick, muſt not only ſet down firſt and count the coſt, whether he have ſufficient to finiſh his work, leaſt, after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finiſh it, all that behold it begin to mock him, ſaying, This man began to build but was not able to finiſh: but he muſt be ſure alſo to arm himſelf both againſt himſelf and what his own fleſh and blood ſhall object, and againſt the Devil & all Deviliſh men, and what thoſe wicked Spirits can ſuggeſt or belch forth, for the hindering or retarding him in his work; leaſt otherwiſe he be fowly foyled in his undertaking it, or fall off ſhamefully and diſgracefully from it, before he have perfected it; and ſo both loſe his Crown, which is promiſed only to him that overcommeth, and pull ſcorn and contempt upon himſelf for his weakneſs and apoſtacie, and render the work it ſelf for the more difficult and dreadfull to others, that would happily otherwiſe have laboured ſucceſsfully in it. Now for the coſt of this preſent undertaking its eaſi to be valued, ſo far as it yet concerns me: For all that I undertake, is but the repreſenting of the preſent ſad condition

Rev. cap. 2. and 3.

condition of the Engliſh Colonie in Virginea, with the rational cauſes thereof, and the probable means of its relief and redreſs, unto one, that is known to have ſufficiency both of ſkill and power, and what elſe is requiſite for effecting and accompliſhing what is humbly deſired of him, or ſoberly intimated to him. And although this coſt me ſomewhat more, both in expence of time and labour, for the compoſing and framing both the Petition and the Remonſtrance than to merit the ambitious time-crack of being autoſchediaſtical or extempore (for I dare not preſent ought to man, that coſt me nothing) yet it coſt me ſo little, that I think it not worth the computing. For ſome Planters in and Traders to Virginea, that are of known credit and reputation, furniſhed me with the collections, and other Perſons of honour undertook the procuring both them and my Petition acceſs to his Highneſs; and if I have, or can thereby but lay the foundation of an happy reformation of that declining Plantation, the honour of proceeding ſo far, will, in my account and in the eſtimate of all honeſt men, much outweigh the ſcoffs and mocks of all Sanballats or Tobiahs that ſhall malign the finiſhing of the building. And I hope God will ſtirr up the Spirits of ſome zealous Haggais and Zachariahs to incite and incourage ſome noble Heroick Zerubbabels and Joſhuas to perfect what ſhall be left unfiniſhed by thoſe worthies, whom I, that am leſs than the leaſt of the Lords Prophets, and unworthy to be called a Prophet, have called upon and incited to appear in this honourable and pious work. And for what mine own fleſh and blood could object againſt this undertaking, though the objections were many and ſeemingly ſtrong (eſpecially when they were backed by others, that would have made me believe, they love me as well as I can my ſelf) yet God (to the glory of his grace be it ſpoken) ina-

bled me either to remove or leap over them all: and I was, and am confident, that seeing I do not in this work seek my self, but the glory of God, and the good of so many soules, if I should chance to lose my self in it, I should finde my self and that both infinitely comforted in that loss, and superabundantly recompenced for it. The chief thing then, that remaines to be done by me, is the arming my self, or rather the daily supplicating of God to arm me, against the fiery darts, that Satan and his complices, wicked men, shall cast at me to beat me off from this work, or to affright me in it. And (praised be the Lord) I have been so acquainted with their envy and detraction, the two prime poysonous barbed arrowes of their Hellish quiver, in some other undertakings, that God hath honoured me with, and carried me through; that I onely so far fear them and the rest of that invenomed sheaf, as to betake me to the armour which the Lord of hosts hath counselled me to make use of against them, and to apply me to those holy means which he hath prescribed both for the getting that armour and the girting it on, as also for the exercising and managing it to the best advantage. I know that envy and detraction are as constant attendants upon every good action of note and eminency especially, as the devill himself is a diligent malicous observer of it; that to eat out the very heart of it, if its venemous tooth can reuch it; and this to grangrene some of the more exteriour usefull comely parts of it, if the vitals escape its poyson. But if God please to preserve the undertaker, and to prosper his undertaking; let the Red Dragon himself cast forth a whole flood of poyson after him and that which he travails with, he can no more hurt him or hinder his effecting what he undertakes, than he could the woman cloathed with the sun, and her bringing forth her man-child. And for my part, seeing envy makes the

Rev. 12.

best

best workes the object of her malignity, I shall be so far from being troubled at the envy of any, that I wish from my heart the work may but prove worthy of such Spirits envy: And for detraction, if there be so much good in the work, as is capable of mens detracting from it, so that God may have the glory of that good from those that have any goodness in them, let as many wicked ones, as please, glory in that their own shame: I shall repute it no shame to me, to have all the glory of all the good taken from me, when there is not the least due to me: and it will be honour sufficient, as well as comfort to me, that I have done any thing whereby God may be glorified on my behalf. Yet because I woul not willingly give the least occasion to any to sin so highly against God and their own soules, I shall do my indeavour to prevent all such folly, so far as a faithfull account of my appearing and proceeding in the business may do it.

Upon what grounds I undertook this work, I have declared to him with whom I dare not dissemble: And what incouragements I have had, both from God and good men, to go on with it (so far at the least as to make tryal how it will be relished or disgested by those who have power either to crush it or crown it) are fitter for mine own breast to retain, than for this, or any other paper to publish. This every one, that knowes me, will I hope believe, that certainly I had some friends of worth and credit who furnished me with the particulars of this Remonstrance (as I before hinted) or else being a stranger to Virginea and the affaires thereof, I neither could have known them, nor would have received any information concerning them upon trust, much less have presumed the presenting them to his Highness: And the truth is, There is not one particular mentioned by me, to which I cannot produce a sufficient testimonie for

the confirmation thereof, by such a number of witnesses as the Lord himself approves for the establishing of every truth: And for the most they are so well known to every Planter there and trader thither (especially those that trade in their own persons) as that he must have very little acquaintance with either, or give little faith to both, that shall doubt thereof, farther than to enquire of them which all unsatisfied persons are desired to do. And whereas you will find some very fowl acts particularised, and yet the actors or committors not named; charge that, if you please, upon my charity, who though I had their names given me, (as there was reason I should) and that by those that are neither affraid nor ashamed to have their names known, if it shall be required by any that have authority so to do; Yet I thought it my duty to silence them; that so the Persons that are guilty of those horrid crimes, may be the sooner invited to repent of them, when they shall see, that upon their repenting, as God hath promised their transgressions shall not be mentioned unto them by him, nor ought to be by others, so there is the best course taken by me, that I could, that they themselvs shall never be upbraided with them; as knowing, that oftentimes the open disgracing men for some fowl facts makes them the more impudent in those sins, and the more obdurat against all perswasions to turn from them.

As also, that this discovering their sins and yet covering their names may assure them, that it is the detestation of those crying crimes, not any hatred of their persons, that occasioned this complaint: and therefore, if, upon the telling that such and such sins are committed by some, they find themselves to be the men that committed them, (as tis desired they may) there will be no need to say to any of them as Nathan *sometimes was constreined to say to* David, Thou art the man: *and if themselves then please but to confess*

with

with David *one by one, I have sinned against the Lord: I shall intercede with the Lord so far as I am able, that he would please to say to their soules, one by one again, what* Nathan *said to* David, The Lord hath put away thy sin: *and if they shall be thus ashamed of what they have done, tis all the shame is wished them for so doing. But, because by those wicked deeds, they have given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, let them beware, lest if they do escape the judgement of men, the severe judgments of God do not seize upon them in some remarkable manner, here in this life, for others to take warning thereby, and for the taking of those enemies of the Lord from their farthar blaspheming thereat.*

Besides, if all this will not quiet some Spirits, that shall find themselves concerned in this Remonstrance, as conceiving that the publishing of such particular crimes will cause an inquisition to be made by many after the particular names of those that committed them; (as indeed all men are generally too inquisitive after other mens sins, & too busie in proclaiming them) or it may be, his Highness himself may, upon the information of such crimes being commited, command the names of those that commited them to be given in to him, that justice may proceed against them; Let such know, that if any private men shall inquire of me the names of those whose particular crimes are complained of in the following Remonstrance; I can (through his grace who sets a watch before my mouth and keeps the door of my lips) commond my tongue silence as well as my pen, but I have no power over the tongues of other men farther than to beseech them to be as carefull of preserving others good names, as of their own; and that care of others will increase and inlarge the honour of their own: and where any deserve to have their names stink and rot, that they would

suffer

suffer them so to do, without their raking too much in the noisom filth & loathsome putridness & putre of them. But, if his Highness command me to give him, or any deputed by him, either any or all their names; that so judgement may be executed upon some of those Zimris *and* Achans, *those Colonie-destroying offendors, to the better appeasing of Gods wrath gone out against that Colonie, and for the more happy prevention of the like provocation by others, I fear the displeasure both of God and his Highness too much to disobey that command. And if their names or persons do suffer thereby, they may blame themselves, who were so audaciously wicked as to do that to others without blushing at it, which now they are ashamed or afraid to hear of, from others, with so much as being named to have done it; and take it ill to have those detestable acts of theirs but mentioned before one that hath power to punish them, which they never stuck at to perpetrate before him, that hath power to damn them for them. But I forget my self and the work in hand too much, in labouring thus long to satisfy those that are enemies to both. Apologies to such do but raise more jealousies, and sharp rebukes are fitter charms for such spirits than soft answers.*

There are indeed some persons of honour and integrity yet living, that had the unhappiness to be Governours when some of those horrid facts were commited by some of the Planters; And so they might in justice be charged upon their account (so far as the not prohibiting, oppugning, and punishing them could contract the guilt of them) should not I be so just as to give others that fair account thereof, which I received from those who abhor to justifie the wicked or condemn the righteous. Most true it is what Salust *saith, That* in cujus manu est ut prohibeat, jubet agi, si non prohibet admitti, *In whose power it is to prohibit*

a crime, he commands it to be done, if he do not prohibit the doing it: or, as Seneca *expreſſeth it,* qui non vetat peccare cum poſſit, jubet, *He bids a man to ſin, that does not forbid him when he may: And he, that does not withſtand a wicked man in his wickedneſs, [or puniſh him ſeverely for it, if he have power, does both animat him in] his wickedneſs, and incourage others to do the like: and is thereby as really guilty of that wickedneſs, as if himſelf had committed it. But tis as true, (ſay their compurgators) that thoſe worthies, (whoſe innocency alone I deſire to vindicate, leaving all unworthy Governours to anſwer for themſelves) had not that juſt power of prohibiting, oppugning, and puniſhing iniquity and the actors thereof, at leaſt not that due liberty of exerciſing their power, that men of their place and authority ſhould have: but were ſo limited and bound up, by the over-ſtraightneſs of their inveſtors, that armed them with that power, or by the diſſenting of their aſſiſtants, that ſhould have ſtood by them, and acted with them, in the execution thereof; or by the inſolency and tumultuouſneſs of thoſe upon whom juſtice ſhould have been executed, That, althongh they abhorred & abominated thoſe barbarous acts, and the wicked contrivers and actors of them; yet they were conſtrained, for the better preſervation of the publik peace and ſafety of the Plantation, as well as their own perſons and ſubſiſtance, to forbear that forcible withſtanding, and judicial puniſhing them, that they ſhould, and otherwiſe would have practiſed and proceeded in. Such is the inſeparable unhaippineſs and miſchief that conſtantly attends both the Governours and Governed, where the power of the Governers depends upon the favour and pleaſure of the people, or is manacled and fettered by any Plebeian Tribunes, or over-awed by any inſulting Ephori. Nevertheleſs, that the reſplendent eminencies*

nencies of those Governours, or my high esteem of their vouchers, may not so mislead me, as that whilest I am willing to excuse them from the guilt of others sins I should unwitingly pull upon my self the guilt of theirs, I humbly beseech those Governours, that as they desire to appear just before men, so they would much more labour to acquit themselves before God. And therefore if they know ought by themselves (as they needs must) more than others can charge them with, they would not rest upon any mans justification of their actions, much less presume them thereupon justifyable before God; but earnestly and humbly beg of God his gracious pardon for what he knowes they have failed in or been guilty of, either by their omitting or neglecting to exercise that power, that he had put into their hands, or by their otherwise partaking with others in their sins, as well as for all their other transgressions; and that will not onely comfort their soules and quiet their Spirits against all that have been or shall be objected against them; but also add very much to their honour amongst all good men and exceedingly indear them to God himself the fountain of all true comfort honour and goodness.

Then for those friends of mine which pretend to be friends also to the work it self, but not to my undertaking it, though I love their reproofes better thā I do others praises; yet I would not willingly deserve that favour from them. It may be (& the truth is I have been told as much by some, that I believe cordially love me) they may fear that my appearing in this business may be reputed by some that wish me well somewhat improper and a little Heterogeneal to my profession as a Minister; but to such my humble request is, that they would consider both my profession and this work a little better.

If the shewing a people their transgressions and their sins by my pen, when my voice, though lifted up like a trumpet

cannot

cannot reach their eares; or if the shewing those transgressions and sins to others, that have hands long enough to reach and correct them, when they can neither be first shewn to themselves, or if they were, would certainly be to very little or no purpose, as to their amendment.

If when wrath is gone out against a people, the calling upon others that have power to help pacify that wrath by executing wrath upon those that provoked it; when the party that so calls upon others hath neither power nor commission to do it himself.

If to give a people warning when they are hastening to ruin and destruction, and the supplicating others to contribute their utmost for the preventing it, if it be possible.

If the seeking after, not one sheep, but a whole flock, that are gone astray, and in danger to be lost for ever; and the desire to bring home to the same fold with them and after them, millions of souls more, that never yet were of that fold, but have promises from the great Shepheard that they shall one day be brought into it.

If the complaining of poor injured, oppressed, inslaved Christian servants, under most unjust, cruel, tyrannical, unchristian Masters, to such as have more power over those Masters, than they have over their servants, though both must remember that themselves have another Master in heaven, to whom they must give account both of themselves and of their servants.

If the putting in minde those that are within the pale of the Church to walk honestly towards them that are without, and to let their light of holy conversation so shine before those especially that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, as to invite and allure them to love the same light that they profess to walk in, and to embrace that true light which came to be their light, and lighteth every man, with all the light he hath.

In a word, if the trusting in God, who hath the hear's of all men in his hands to turn as he please, and so hoping that his Highness heart will be inclined by that God to this great and glorious work, upon his right understanding it; and that somewhat the more, because he knows, that he that supplicates his assistance therein, never sought any great things for himself, and abhorrs to beg ought of him for others, but what he believes upon good grounds to be just and honourable for him to condescend to; If these and the like acts and crimes to these, be reputed as unbecoming me, or unbeseeming my Ministerial function, I must confess tis my desire (not to say ambition) to serve God by my Ministry in these waies which are reputed unbecoming and unbeseeming. And if God in his mercy do but approve of me and my Ministry, or rather my execution of that holy office (for the office it self hath God for its institutor, and and will assuredly find him its protector and defender as well as avenger) I do no farther regard mans approving or disapproving either, than to give no just occasion to any by any offence in my life to be offended at the exercise of my Ministry, nor any just cause to any by the exercise of my Ministry to be offended with my person.

And as in my preaching the gospel, I have carefully and faithfully indeavoured with that great exemplar of Preachers Saint Paul, *to speak nothing of deceit or impuritie, or guile; but, as I have been allowed of* God *to be put in trust with the* Gospel, *so I have spoken, not as pleasing men but* God, *which tryeth our hearts: So I have, with the same holy Apostle, in all things else, and in this particular business in hand, exercised my self to have allwaies a conscience void of offence toward* God *and toward man. But if I have unwittingly said or done ought that does justly offend any sober knowing man, (as who lives and does not*

1 Epist. Thes. cap. 2. v. 3, 4.

Act. 24. 16.

in many things offend both againſt God and man) I ſhall upon my knowledge of it meekly acknowledge it, and humbly crave God*s and his pardon of it: as I ſhall alſo freely forgive any, that ſhall through weakneſs or ignorance take an offence at me or at any of my words or actions, when there is no ofience given. Wherefore I earneſtly beſeech you that are my friends, and all others, that are friends to the publick good of others, that, if there be any Conſolation in Chriſt to be wiſhed by you unto me, if any* Phil. 2. *comfort of love, to be expected by me from you, if any fellowſhip of the Spirit betwixt you and me, if any bowels of mercy towards that poor Colonie which I appear for, and towards thoſe miſerable heathen Indians, that I long after, yom would, inſtead of quarrelling me, or this my undertaking, fulfil my joy, conceived at the hope of ſucceeding in this great work, and be like minded with me towards it, having the ſame love both to the reforming and purging thoſe Church members of Chriſt, the Engliſh Chriſtians, and to the incorporating into Chriſts Church the Heathen aliens, their Indian neighbours. And ſo being of one accord and of one mind, let nothing be done by any of us through ſtrife or vain glory; but in lowlineſs of minde, let us each eſteem other better than themſelves, and look not every man on his own things, but every man alſo on the things of others: And thus the ſame minde will be in us, which was alſo in Chriſt Ieſus; and we ſhall in him conquer all oppoſitions, difficulties, and ſeeming impoſſibilities; yea & be more than conquerours through him that loveth us. To whom with the Father and Holy Spirit be all the* Glory *and honour of this and all other my actions and undertakings.*

A compendious Remonstrance of the present sad state and condition of the English Colony in *Virginea*.

That *Virginea* is a most fertile soil, and abounding with allmost all things necessary and usefull for man, even above the most of nations; and that it is capable of producing any thing to introduce trading to and from all other parts of the world; and would, if well imployed and improved by the Planters, exceedingly advance the Manufacture of this Nation, by taking off from hence and consuming there, very great quantities of all sorts yearly, in regard of the multitude of its inhabitants, both Planters and Natives; That it is also a Country, which (by the reason of the vastness thereof, and the Natives former readiness to part with such portions of their right and interest therein, unto the English, upon very reasonable terms, as they can upon all just occasions fairly desire, and to live with them and amongst them, so far as they may in wisedom and prudence be admitted) may, in all probability, afford very peaceable, pleasurable, profitable, and every way comfortable habitation and other requisites, for the greatest Colonie that ever yet the sun shone upon; And above all other advantages, that the Native people thereof are very inclinable (at least did profess so to be, till they were much scandalized by the wicked lives, and very much abused and oppressed by the unjust dealings of the Planters) to receive and embrace the Gospel, and to submit to the English government,

are

re all things ſo well known to your Highneſs, or may ſoon be, by what hath been already publiſhed by ſom that have lived amongſt them, and will be farther atteſted by others that doe moſt conſtantly reſide there, and are ready and willing to give your Highneſs a more particular aſſurance thereof, if they be required ſo to doe. That it would be ſuperfluous, as well as too too tedious to give you any farther relation thereof. But that a Colonie, Planted in ſuch a Country 60 yeares ſince or more, and that by Chriſtians, and thoſe of the ſame Nation and profeſſion of faith with us, ſhould in all this time make ſo litle, very litle profit or benefit of ſuch a land, in reſpect of what it would yield, if well husbanded; and be ſo far from increaſing the trade thither and from thence, that at this preſent it is much worſe than it was many years ſince; and (which is a grand ſhame and diſhonour both to our Nation and to our Religion) inſtead of converting or civilizing any one of the Natives, ſo as to retain that civility or profeſſion of Chriſtianity in due perſeverance, they give them all too juſt occaſion to be ſcandalized at the very name of Chriſtianity, and to abhor and deteſt their Government, as well as manners. This your humble Remonſtrant preſumes is neither known to your Highneſs, nor will ſcarce be credited by you at the firſt hearing: But if your Highneſs will vouchſafe to make a ſtrict inquiry into, and examination of ſuch particulars, as may evince and evidence the truth of all thoſe foul errors, groſs miſcarriages, and crying crimes, whereby the ſaid Plantation is brought, not only to a very low and deſpicable condition, but very neer its period and utter ruine; Your humble Remonſtrant will, upon your command, furniſh your Highneſs to your full ſatisfaction; as he doth for the preſent ſuggeſt ſome of the cheifeſt of them; and begs your pardon for preſuming to offer with them his own ſubmiſſive conceptions for their redreſs.

The Errors, miſcariages, & crimes, whereby, not only the good and proſperity of the Colonie or Plantation in *Virginea* is retarded and hindred, but the Colonie or Plantation it ſelf is very likely to be ſpeedily ruined, may be reduced to theſe four heads.

1. The Errors committed by thoſe that tranſmit perſons over into the Colonie.

2. The

2. The miſcariages of the Planters there, both towards the Indians, and amongſt themſelves eſpecially, in their Planting and ſetling.

3. The injuries and overſights chargeable upon the Traders thither.

4. The great neglect and contempt of Gods ordinances, worſhip and ſervice, throughout the whole Plantation.

I.

The Errors committed by thoſe that tranſmit perſons over thither are principally theſe.

1. They ſeldome make choiſe of good ſufficient Governors; who, as they ought to be able men, ſuch as fear God, men of truth, hating coveteouſneſs; ſo they ought to be men of more than ordinary publick Spirits, preferring the publick good of the Plantation before their own gain or privat intereſt; & ſuch as have travelled and been uſed to trade and commerce with other Nations, as well as in their own; whereby having knowledge of the commodities and profits of ſeveral Countries, they may be able to introduce the planting of ſuch in that Colonie as the ſoil and climat is moſt proper for, and the trading therein with other Nations will bring moſt advantage by. And though there have been ſome Governours tranſmitted thither ſo qualified in the moſt and cheifeſt qualifications, yet they have been ſo very few, and their reſidence there of ſo ſmall continuance, that either they wanted time to work any reformation amongſt them, that was conſiderable, or elſe other inexperienced, indiſcreet, careleſs, covetous Governors ſoon pulled down, or ſuffered to ruine, what any knowing, prudent, careſull, generous Governour had builded, or at leaſt layd the foundation of.

2. The Miniſters and publick diſpenſers of the Goſpel, which are ſent into that Plantation, are, for the moſt part, not only far ſhort of thoſe qualifications required in Miniſters 1 *Tim.* 3. and *Tit.* 1. but men of oppoſite qualities and tempers, ſuch as either by their looſe lives, and un-Goſpel-becoming converſation, or by their known weakneſs, and unſufficiency of underſtanding and parts, do not only not gain or win upon thoſe that are without, the Indian heathen, but cauſe to go more aſtray, and loſe, many, very many of thoſe that pretend to be within, the Engliſh Chriſtians.

3. The

3. The people that are ſent to inhabit in that Colonie, are the moſt of them the very ſcum and off-ſcouring of our Nation, vagrants, or condemned perſons, or ſuch others, as by the looſneſs and viciouſneſs of their lives have diſabled themſelves to ſubſiſt any longer in this Nation; and when they come thither, either know not how, or will not betake themſelves to any ſober induſtrious courſe of living. And, if they chance to get ought to maintain them in their licentiouſneſs and wickedneſs, fall to practiſing their old abominable practices there, as much or more than ever they did heer. So that if they come to be rulers or officers in the ſaid Colonie, whereby they are rendered more conſpicuous in their true colours, their idleneſs and otherwiſe evil examples do not only corrupt and taint others of the ſame Colonie but cauſe the very Heathen to loath both them and the very profeſſion of Chriſtianity for their ſakes. And can any Colonie expect to proſper, or to obtain any bleſſings from God upon themſelves and their Plantation, when they ſin more againſt God and do more provoke his wrath and indignation, than thoſe heathen whom the Lord removed out of the ſame parts of that Land, and gave it them to poſſeſs? No, 'tis to be feared, that as it will be more tollerable for thoſe heathens in the day of judgement, than for them; ſo ſome more intollerable judgments will likewiſe without ſpeedy repentance ere they are aware, be inflicted on them in the day of Gods viſiting their iniquities, than ever thoſe Heathen felt, whom God Caſt out before them. And it muſt be Gods infinite mercy to this ſinfull Nation, if, beſides our other crying ſins, This our ſending out ſuch from amongſt us, that ſo diſhonour Gods name amongſt thoſe Heathen, and cauſe them to blaſpheme it, and his Goſpel to be a reproach to them (far beyond what could have been done by them, had they been kept and puniſhed heer, as they ought to have been) do not ſo inflame and increaſe the fiery wrath and indignation of God againſt us, as that he therefore cauſe too many of us to be caſt forth or led forth captives into ſome heathenish, barbarous or Idolatrous Nation to be a curſe and a reproach amongſt them.

4. That very many Children and ſervants ſent into that Plantation, that were violently taken away, or cheatingly duckoyed

ed without the consent or knowledge of their Parents or Masters by some præstigious Plagiaries (commonly called Spirits) into some private places, or ships, and there sold to be transported; and then resold there to be slaves or servants to those that will give most for them. A practice proper for Spirits, namely the Spirits of Devils, but to be abhorred and abominated of all men that know either what men are, or whose originally they are, (even his that made them) or what their relations are, either natural, civil, or Christian. A practice condemned by the very Heathen, and a **Law** called *Lex plagiaria*, made by them against it. And if it should be tollerated, or connived at by Christians, and known so to be of the Heathen, Let it never be expected that any of those Heathen should turn Christians: For they may well conclude, That they that will take by force or fraud those that are Christians either children from their Parents, or servants from their Masters or any of any relation from their friends and relations, and sell them for slaves or servants to others, will never make any conscience or scruple at all, either of taking away by force, or surreptitiously stealing, or otherwise unjustly possessing or selling those Heathen themselves, or their children, servants, goods, lands, or ought else they can lay their hands on. And if they should become Christians, they are foretaught by sufficient examples, that their being Christians would be no securitie or protection to them or theirs. And how this diabolical practise does, in this and many other respects, cry unto God for vengeance in the cries, and moanes, and complaints, and lamentations, made by those poor inslaved children and servants and by all their Parents, friends and relations, may be more easily gessed at than expressed; and may, in probability, be enough of it self, to pull a curse and vengeance upon the whole Plantation. *Amos* 2. *v*: 6. *Joel* 3. *v*: 6, 7, 8.

II.

The Miscariges of the Planters towards the Indians, and amongst themselves, are chiefly these.

Towards the Indians.

1. The Planters generally keep neither their word nor their faith with the Indians; whereas the Indians very seldome or

never break their word or faith with them. Thus iniquity is not only folly, but sometimes a very contradiction to it self, as well as to reason; for some that call themselves believers, are real infidels, and prove themselves so to be, and worse, when some that are real infidels, prove themselves to have more faith than such hypocritical believers. And it would be found presumption, not faith or charity, in any, to believe or hope, that such dishonourers of the Christian faith, should ever prevail with the poor unbelieving Indians to believe Gods word or his promises, declared to be his by them whose word and promise they have just cause not to believe. Or if God should make such fowl falls of such false Christians to be an occasion to his own raising up those unbelieving Indians, & bringing them to Christ, as he did the falling of the Jewes to be the riches of the gentiles, *Rom.* 11. tis to be feared such a calling in of those Indians, would be the utter casting off of those Christians; which the Lord of his mercy forbid. And for the Indians fidelity to the English, take that for a memorable testimony amongst many, and indeed it may stand for many: when the Masacre was made by the indians upon the English in that Colonie, They assaulted, no persons, nor invaded any mans possessions or goods, that they knew had bought their lands of them, & covenanted with them, for them and made good their covenants.

2. The Planters have taken the Indians goods from them by force when the Indians have come peaceably to trade with them. An act to be detested of all that love peace and truth, much more of those that have any desire of the propagating of the Gospel of peace and truth amongst those with whom they trade.

3. The Planters have turned some of the Indians out of their places of abode and subsistence, after that the Indians have submitted to the Colonie, and to their Government, and have taken up their own lands after the custome used by the Colonie; As they did otherwise also very unchristianly requite the service which one of the Indian Kings did them in fighting against other Indians, that were presumed to be enemies to the English and to draw towards them to do them mischief. For that when the said King desirous to shew his fidelity to the English, if not in obedience to some of their Commanders orders, did adventure

venture too far with his own Indians in the purſute of thoſe other Indians, and thereby loſt his life in that action, as ſome report (though others thought him to be taken alive by the enemies. His wife and children (that were by him at his expiring, recommended to the care of the Engliſh (as ſome of his ſervants have given out) or, to be ſure, ought to have been taken into their ſpecial care whether ſo recommended or not, and might have been ſuch an advantage either of reducing that whole family with their friends & allies to the embracing the Chriſtian faith, or at leaſt ſuch an endearing them to the Engliſh, as they have never or ſeldome had the opportunity of) were ſo far from receiving the favour and kind uſage merited by their father, that they were wholly neglected and expoſed to ſhift for themſelves. And though it be alleged by ſome, as to the former part of this grievance, that that portion of Lands, which was taken from the ſayd King before his death by an Engliſh Colonel, was acknowledged openly in Court to be with the conſent of the ſaid King, & that hee was ſatisfied for it; Yet tis generally believed, & by ſome ſtoutly aſſerted, that the ſayd King was affrighted and threatened into that acknowledgement, by the ſaid Colonel.

4. The Planters have by their ſeveral and frequent acts of injuſtice and cruelty exerciſed upon the Indians, in invading their rights and aſſaulting their perſons, made the Indians in a manner to deſpair of ever living peaceably by them, or having any fair converſe or commerce with them, as by their not ſuffering the Indians to hunt in thoſe woods, or to fiſh in thoſe rivers, wherein they challenge a right, and are believed by divers ſober and diſcreet men of the Colonie to have a right as well as themſelves; as alſo by not permitting the Indians, though ſingle, or but two or three in a company, to approach neer to any of the habitations of the Engliſh (unleſs it be of ſome few of the better ſort and rank, who have more civility and humanity, and know better how to improve that advantage) And, if any of the Indians do chance to come into any of their Plantations, and are taken, the Engliſh oftentimes ty them alive to trees and burn them to aſhes, or elſe otherwiſe murder them, without ſhewing any cauſe, farther than the pretending that the Indians are not to be truſted, though (as I but now ſaid) in their faithfulneſs and

firmneſs

firmneſs to their promiſes they much ſurpaſs the Engliſh.

5. The Planters did lately, viz. *Anno* 1656, (when a numerous people of the Indians, more remote from the Colonie, came down to treat with the Engliſh about ſetling of a Peace, and withall a liberty of trade with them) moſt perfidiouſly and barbarouſly (after a declaration of their deſires and intention) murther five of their Kings, that came in expectation of a better reception) and bronght much Beaver with them to begin the intercourſe of the commerce. This unparallel'd helliſh treachery and antichriſtian perfidy more to be deteſted than a ny heatheniſh inhumanity, cannot but ſtink moſt abominably in the noſethrils o as many Indians as ſhall be infeſted with the leaſt ſen t of it, even to their perpetual abhorring and abandoning of the very ſight and name of an Engliſh man, till ſome new generation of a better extract ſhall be tranſplanted amongſt them; as alſo cry inceſſantly in the eares of the Almighty for his avenging thoſe bloods upon thoſe Engliſh, who made their calling themſelves his their prime advantage of betraying thoſe poor wretches lives into their bloody hands; and by their murthering their bodies did (as much as in them lay) ſlay alſo their very ſoules and ſacrifice them to the Devil; as they have likewiſe by that complicated iniquity, (unleſs the deteſtation thereof, by the reſt of that Colonie and this Nation, be openly manifeſted in the ſight of the ſurviving Indians in ſome exemplarie puniſhment of thoſe murtherers) beaten off many thouſands of thouſands of ſoules from embracing that faith which would ſave them.

6. To juſtify all theſe and many other of their matchleſs Iniquities and impieties, eſpecially their rapines, murthers, and all ſorts of crueltics exerciſed upon the poor Indians; ſome of the Planters, having uſurped the office of publike preachers, have Proclaimed from their ſpeaking-places, That the Planters are the Saints, that have juſt right to whatſoever the Indians call theirs; & may, when they have opportunity and power, turn the Indians out of all their lands and eſtates, & take them into their own poſſeſſion. So far have they extended that opinion *dominium fundatur in gratia*, and ſo much have they abuſed, that Apoſtolical compellation of Saints, in thoſe parts: your Highneſs cannot but know the danger of their conjunction in theſe.

Amongſt

Amongſt themſelves.

1. The Planters, ſome of them, have not only dealt unjuſtly and inhumanely with the poor heathen Indians; but to the farther diſhonour of this Nation, and the greater ſcandal of our religion profeſſed by them, they did lately commit a moſt hainous outrage, and bloody fact upon ſome of their own Engliſh Nation, that had ſeated themſelves in *Mary-land*; & that not upon a ſuddain provoked boyling of their own blood, but, (ſo far as circumſtances could demonſtrate their intention) out of a Cain-like thirſting after their brethrens blood, and a ſordid coveting of their eſtates; and what leſs can the Indians from thence infere, than, that if the Engliſh invade each others poſſeſſions, and ſhed each others bloods for them, ſurely the poor contemned Indians cannot hope for either juſtice or mercy from them; and therefore why ſhould they ſcruple the cutting of their throats or driving them out from amongſt them, who ſo little ſcruple the cutting each others or any others throats, and the turning them out from cohabiting in the ſame country with them?

2. The Planters (out of covetous deſire to take up great Tracts of land) diſperſe themeſelves very far from each other in the Country, and uſually take up more land by an hundred parts, than they are able to manure or till, or make any uſe of: rendering themſelves thereby both uſeleſs to one another, & the more unſerviceable to the publick; beſides the expoſing themſelves to be cut off the more eaſily by the Indians, when they ſhall take that occaſion, which is too often given them, as well as underſtand this advantage.

3. The Planters obſerve no juſt order in taking up their proportions of land, but run up, one after another, all along by the rivers ſides; whereby they not onely prejudice others, that come after them, in their Planting and ſeating themſelves; but do very much diſcourage them from planting and ſetling themſelves at all; becauſe they cannot have any tollerable convenience of the Rivers.

4. The Planters doe generally regard the planting of nothing but Tobacco; and that they plant ſo exceſſively, that they cannot (conſidering their number of ſervants) make it up as it ſhould be. And too many will not give it the dne making that they might; and do, for the moſt of them, pack it ſo falſly

and cheatingly; that the Traders thither, finding themſelves ſo abuſed & couſened by them, and that, upon their complaining ther of no juſtice is done them, (becauſe moſt commonly the parties guilty are the judges) are very much diſheartned and diſcouraged from trading any longer with them. And if the Planters themſelves do at any time bring, or ſend over upon their own account, any conſiderable quantities thereof, it proves uſually ſo bad, and of ſo little worth, that all charges defrayed, they can ſcarce get more by it than their labour for their pains: whereas when ſome of them, that have been carefull to have their tobacco well made, and as well pact up, have brought over of the ſame, ſix hundred pounds have been offered to one of them for one yeares profit of his plantation.

5. The Planters do ſeldome imploy their mindes and parts about ought ſave the procuring a preſent ſubſiſtence and livelyhood, and the purchaſing of ſtrong waters, or ſome other ſuch heating liquors, as may inflame their *S*pirits, and intoxicate their braines; and ſo continue their old accuſtomed debaucheries contracted in England.

6. The Planters in the generality, doe moſt baſely cheat, and unjuſtly deal with all that trade with them, in caſe either themſelves, or any that come into thoſe parts to trade with them, happen to die there, or have any eſtates there when they die: For that all the eſtate that is found in the deceaſed's hands (be it whoſe it will be) is appriſed by certain appriſers at half its worth: And the appriſers for their paines take in a manner what they pleaſe; and the reſt of the eſtate is put into the hands of any that claim any intereſt therein, under a pretence to keep it for the true proprietors; who ſeldome get ought thereof, upon their demanding it, but are inforced, for the moſt part, to ſpend the full value thereof, and ſometimes if they will not bear that abuſe, twice as much as its value, before they can recover ought. And uſually they loſe both the principal eſtate, and all the charges expended for the regaining it. Which practice alone, if not ſpeedily remedied, will deterr all traders from adventuring thither, and deſtroy all trade there, and ſo ruine the Colonie.

7. The Planters, many of them doe very much abuſe and oppreſs their poor ſervants, by not allowing them that lodging

and

and food which is meet, causing many of them either to ly all the time of their servitude in ash heaps, or otherwise to kennel up and down like dogs, where they can find room; scarce feeding them so well as our scornfull servants here in England feed our dogs; though men of honesty and conscience do discharge their consciences there in the good use of their servants, as the like do here.

8. The Planters suffer much, and complain excessively of the heavy and unequal taxes laid upon them, which taxes in a great part are pretended to be imposed for the levying and raising of force to secure the Colony and defend them against their enemies; when as they are spent and imbezled by the officers or largesses of the assemblies of the Colony in intemperate drinking, and other riotous and luxurious practices, so industry and temperance are discouraged, and idleness and licentiousness are maintained, if not countenanced; which cannot but soon overthrow the best of Plantations.

9. The Planters do exceedingly miscarry in not setling head Townes in each County, that the people of that County, and all others that desire to trade with them, might be drawn together, and manage their trading in some certain places; and not run up and down from house to house; especially when the houses are at so great a distance from each other, as there they are, and not above two houses together in any County except in *James* Town.

The Injuries and oversights chargeable upon the traders to *Virginea* are more discernably these.

1. The Traders do very much Injurie to the Plantation in *Virginea* by not victualing their ships sufficiently for the passengers wch they transport; in so much that many of the passengers are allmost famished, before they reach thither, though the passage be otherwise fair and within convenient time: and many dy soon after they arrive there; which brings an ill report upon the Conntry, as though that killed them; when their death is to be attributed to their ill usage and diet at sea, arising from the wretched covetousness of those that set forth ships for the transporting of passengers, meerly for gain, and that gotten chiefly

by pinching and ſtarving the carcaſes of their poor paſſengers. Now, if they that are ſlain by the ſword are better than they that are ſlain with hunger, *Lam* 4. *v.* 9. Then ſurely they that kill men by ſtarving them, deſerve more to be hanged, than they who kill men by the ſword, or otherwiſe quickly diſpatch them. Beſides, the ſtarving of men deſigned for a place, where men are far more precious than they are here, and may, through Gods inabling them, prove much more ſerviceable both to God and man than here they can be, aggravates that iniquity not a litle.

2. Another wickedneſs, which ſome traders thither have practiſed upon their paſſengers (ſcarce ever heard of before, much leſs practiſed by any that call them ſelves Chriſtians) is this, When a ſtorm or tempeſt hath happened at ſea in their paſſage from hence thither, or they have otherwiſe miſcarried, through the default of the Maſter or Pilot of the ſhip, ſo that their paſſage hath been tedious and difficult; Some of thoſe Maſters have laid all the blame upon ſome of their paſſengers; and not onely accuſed them for witches, but executed ſome of them as witches, by their own authority, and without any legal trial and conviction. Now if heathen mariners in a deſperate death-threatning tempeſt at ſea, (after that they knew that it was rayſed for one of their paſſengers ſakes, and was acknowledged ſo to be by that paſſenger himſelf, and were defired by him to caſt him overboard, and promiſed thereupon a ceſſation of the ſtorm) were notwithſtanding both unwilling & afraid to caſt him over, leſt themſelves ſhould loſe their lives for caſting away his; or that his innocent blood might be otherwiſe required of them, and revenged on them, *Jonah* 1. How will their tender-heartedneſs and fear of ſhedding the blood of one innocent paſſenger (as they reputed him) riſe up in judgement againſt the hard-heartedneſs and deep blood-guiltineſs of thoſe Chriſtian mariners (undeſervedly ſo called) who upon a ſmall tempeſt or other miſcarriage at ſea, or out of a covetous deſire only to gain a little the more by their paſſengers, raſhly and impiouſly impute the cauſe of that tempeſt or miſcarriage to ſome of their paſſengers; and thereupon, both accuſe, judge, and execute them without any examination, trial or conviction of them; or without the leaſt legal power to doe either unto them; not allowing them ſo much mercy as *Jonah* had from the mercileſs waters, nor affording

affording them ſo much bowels of compaſſion, or liberty of Gods miraculous preſervation, as *Jonah* found in the belly of Hell?

3. The Traders do very much abuſe and cheat thoſe of the Plantation, by impoſing one ſhilling *per* Hogſhead upon all the Tobacco that comes from thence; and without the payment thereof, will not take their Goods aboord; which is done upon the pretence of defraying the charge of deſtroying the Tobacco planted in *England*. And this hath been practiſed two or three years laſt paſt; whereas they have not this laſt year deſtroyed the ſaid Tobacco, nor ſatisfied thoſe whom they formerly imployed in that ſervice for ſome years before, but keep the Moneys ſo raiſed and collected by them, in their own hands, to a very conſiderable ſum. And although the deſtroying Tobacco planted in *England*, will not much benefit the Plantation in *Virginea*, becauſe the leſs Tobacco they plant there, the more of other better Commodities might be there planted and traded in, to their greater profit and advantage: yet the not ſuffering any Tobacco to be planted in *England*, but fetching it from other parts of *America*, will much advance our Engliſh Navigation, and increaſe the Cuſtomes and Excize here at home.

4. There is one thing more, that is found by experience to have hindred the Engliſh Colony in *Virginea* very much in reſpect of the Traders thither; which your humble Remonſtrant is very tender of mentioning, becauſe it reflects too much upon a late revived Law of this Nation; and therefore it ſhall be only propounded to your Highneſs better conſideration, to examine and judge, whether the Planters in *Virginea* do ſuffer more thereby, or the Merchants of *England* gain more: and ſo whether it be not more for our Nations honour and profit to continue it, than it would be for that Plantations advantage to take it off. Or whether there may not be ſome expedient found out for the eaſing of that Plantation in particular, without opening a door to a worſe grievance or inconvenience to this whole Nation in general. The thing complained of by the Planters, is the prohibiting of Foreigners to trade thither. By which prohibition ſa they) the Engliſh Traders thither will have the

Tobeco at their own rates, and ſell their own goods and commodities tranſported thither at their own prices. Inſomuch that whereas, when the Dutch traded thither, the Planters bought ſhoos at 12. *l.* of Tobacco; ſince they were prohibited, the Engliſh made them to pay 50. *l.* of Tobacco for the like: and ſo in proportion for other commodities. And then, if any of the Plantation ſent Tobacco hither, they had the fraight thereof for 4. *l. per* Tun, but upon the prohibition of the Dutch they ſometimes paid 14. *l. per* Tun, and moſt conſtantly 8. *l.* or 9. *l. per* Tun. And whereas the Dutch would then give the Planters 3. *d.* per pound for their Tobacco, and give good bills of Exchange for it, (which Tobacco would yield them 6 *d.* and 7. *d. per* pound; and ſo the Merchant was inabled to pay fraight, exciſe, and cuſtomes, and get tollerable gaines) ſince that, the Tobacco, for the moſt part of it, will not yield above an half penny *per* pound there; and when it comes to England, it will ſcarce pay the fraight and cuſtome, by reaſon of the want of that vent which it formerly had, before the Dutch planted Tobacco in their own territories; which they did not till that prohibition. So that by this means (ſay the Planters) the Plantation is in a manner ruined, at leaſt ſoon will be, if there be not a prudent and timely prevention thereof, as your Highneſs alſo ſuffers alſo not a little in your cuſtomes and exciſe, and the traders themſelves by their trading. The redreſſing of all which, if poſſible, without worſe prejudice to That Plantation or this Nation, is a worke worth the undertaking and skill of the beſt and moſt prudent of both Nations, and the ſole aim of your Remonſtrants preſenting it to your Highneſs.

IV.

The great neglect of Gods ordinances, worſhip, and ſervice throughout the whole Plantation may be aſcribed to theſe original and ſome far other additional cauſes.

1. The Miniſters of *Virginea*, too many of them, are very careleſs and negligent in diſpenſing Gods word and ſacraments, as alſo indecent and ſlovenly in their manner of diſpenſing them.

And

And as their careleſneſs & neglect of diſpenſing Gods Ordinances occaſion the people of the Colonie to diſregard and diſeſteem them; ſo their ſlovenly and indecent diſpenſing them, cauſe both them and the Heathen to ſcorn and contemn them.

2. There are not a few of the Miniſters, whoſe wicked and prophane lives cauſe the worſhip and ſervice of God, not only to be ſlighted, but to be little leſs than abhorred, when they officiate therein; As there are alſo divers, whoſe inſufficiency and inability to ſtop the mouthes of gain-ſayers, occaſion too many of the people of all ſorts to open wide their rude, prophane, blaſphemous mouthes both againſt themſelves and all others of their holy function; as alſo againſt their very office it ſelfe, and thoſe holy Ordinances about which it is converſant. And thus (as the prophet *Jeremie* ſometimes complained *cap*: 23. *From the Prophets——is prophaneſs gone forth into all the Land.* And the true original cauſes of both theſe miſcariages in thoſe Miniſters is this, The greateſt part of them are ſuch as went over thither not out of any deſigne or deſire to do God and that Plantation, much leſs the poor heathen thereto adjoyning any ſervice by their Miniſtery; but out of ſome by aimes and ends of their own, being indeed ſuch, as were aſhamed, or affraid, to live any longer here in this Nation; or at the leaſt ſuch as ſought only to get ſomething for themſelves, having little hopes in theſe daies eſpecially, from the conſciouſneſs of their own unworthineſs, to procure any preferment or tollerable ſubſiſtence here: and accordingly they now live and practice there.

3. Thoſe Miniſters, That are religious and laborious, ſuch as are worthy of double honour, both becauſe of their labouring in the word and doctrine, as alſo becauſe of their being true ſhining lights before the people in their holy exemplarie lives and converſations, have ſcarce that ſingle honour paid them that they deſerve, from the moſt; and are diſhonoured and deſpiſed by too many. Which though it ſhould not, yet it does too much diſcourage and diſhearten them in the work of the Goſpel. And 'tis but juſtice in God, that where men ſow ſparingly, they ſhould reap ſparingly: and where the people grutch to allow Gods Miniſters temporal things, for their inriching them with ſpiritual; God may therefore moſt juſtly, in a proportionable analogie

logie of punishment, withold his conferring of spirituals by such instruments upon such ungratefull receivers, till they have learnt by the want of them, how to value and esteem them better. For as the despising of Gods Ministers is the despising of God himself; so the undervaluing of them and their Ministration is the undervaluing of God himself, and what he confers upon men by them.

4. The Governours of that Colonie have been, divers of them, too remiss and slack both in punnishing and removing unworthy Ministers, and in incouraging and countenancing those of worth. As not long since, there was an instance given of both. When one that had taken upon him the office of a preacher being accused for committing of *Sodomie*, and convicted if not of the fact, yet of the intent and attempt, was onely caused to stand in some publick place for a small time with a paper in his hat, with his crime written therein. When on the other side, in the year 1655. other eminent, able preachers indeed, were for no crime (unless for their being of a different judgement, in our late unhappy differneces here amongst us, from some in power there amongst them, or for their eminencie of abilities and parts, as well as excellency of lives above others, or at the most but for some zealous imprudency) turned out of their imployments and Livelyhood.

Thus Having shewn your Highness some of the chief causes of the Epidemical distempers and maladies, under which the poor Plantation in *Virginea* grones and labours, even to the consumption of her Spirits, and her being ready in a manner to give up the Ghost, the cure is half made, especially if your Highness please to become their *Æsculapius*, and take them into your own hands, and exercise your own skill in correcting and purging out those peccant and corrupt humors, which have been presented to you: But because your Remonstrant knowes well, that your Highness delights, in all incounters, to be rather in the reserve for relief in extremity, than to command in the lighter velitations or skirmishes; he is therefore emboldened (with your Highness favor first supplicated) to adventure his own weak suggestions, for the leading on men of more solid judgements to deliver their opinions; and so to reserve the honour as well

wel as art of conquering all difficulties to your ſelf, for the preſerving and reſtoring of that Languiſhing and dying Colonie.

The moſt therapeutical and healing medicines, and moſt preſerving antidotes, that your humble Remonſtrant conceives to be moſt effectual for the curing of the preſent diſtempers in *Virginea*, and for the preventing their return upon that Colonie for the future, are theſe.

1. That Miniſters of holy and religious exemplarie lives and converſations, and well furniſhed with known and proved abilities, both for teaching and governing, be fairely treated with, and by all good means and waies invited, perſwaded, and incouraged to undertake that great work of the Lord in diſpenſing his Goſpel and the precious myſteries thereof in that Nation; An undertaking of ſo much honour and glory to God, and of ſo much credit and comfort to the undertakers, as that there is not any viſible in the whole world of more, or of more probability of an happy ſucceſs: becauſe they may thereby not only recall & reclaim many of their own country-men and fellow Chriſtians that have fouly erred and gon aſtray; but alſo bring into Chriſts flock and fold not a few of the long loſt Heathen. And if good *Simeon* could ſing ſuch a cheerfull *nunc dimittis* at the firſt ſeing and imbracing him, that was (and therefore becauſe he was) a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the Glory of his people Iſrael *Luke* 1. with what inconceivable, as well as ineffable chearfullneſs and exultation of Spirits, may all thoſe reſigne up their Spirits into Gods hands, who have not only ſeen and embraced for ſome conſiderable time, the ſame Light themſelves; but been honoured with being the inſtruments of the Gentiles ſeing and embracing that Light, as well as of Gods own ſtraying Iſrael returning unto it? (I mean his myſtical Iſrael; though I alſo highly honour the probable conjectures of my reverend and ancient acquaintance and true friend in adverſity as well as proſperity, Mr. *Thomas Thorowgood*; that thoſe Indians at the leaſt ſome of them, in *America*, deſcended originally from the literal Iſrael of God,) And if they which turn many to righteouſneſs ſhall ſhine as the ſtares for ever and ever, *Dan.* 12. where is there the whole world thorow, the like probability, or poſſibility for Miniſters to render themſelves capable of that promiſed reward

that there is in that Plantation, and in the reſt of the adjoyning parts of that vaſt continent; whereof that Plantation is an hopefull door of entrance? Some pious, ſoul-ſeeking Miniſters in *New England* (which is upon the ſame Continent) have in very few yeares (as is by divers from thence certified) made a very fair ingreſs into that worke, more, even far more than all the Miniſters in *Virginea* have done in four times as long continuance of ſucceſſion, & upon many times more ſeaſonable opportunities. The Lord of that vineyard recompence the acceptableneſs and fruites of their laboures into their boſomes, and inable them and their ſucceſſors to make a proportionable progreſs in that honourable and comfortable work; and ſend the like labourers into his vineyard in *Virginea*.

2. That ſuch a Governour be forthwith choſen and ſent over as may incourage pious and religious men both Miniſters and others, to remove thither with him or after him; ſuch a Governour as was before deſcribed in the complaint of the want of ſuch a one. And that he be armed with ſuch power and authority, as is meet, for the reclaiming and regulating ſuch a Plantation. Particularly, that he have power derived unto him to make and conſtitute (with the conſent of ſuch perſons of the Colonie, as the ſaid Colonie ſhall chooſe for their repreſentatives) ſuch lawes and ordinances, as may be maſt ſuitable to, & agreeable with the temper of the place and people, and the good and benefit of the whole Plantation; not forgetting the having an ey and reſpect therein unto the Heathen, ſo far as they may concern them upon any occaſion: that ſo when they ſhall hear them, or have cauſe to try the common equity and juſtice of them, they may be induced to ſay of them, in ſome reſemblance to thoſe lawes which God gave to his Colonie in Canaan, as the Nations about him ſaid of thoſe. Surely this Nation is a wiſe and underſtanding people; For what Nation is there that hath ſtatutes and judgments ſo righteous &c? And the Eſtabliſhing of ſuch lawes, and then their due obedience to them, and through obſervance of them amongſt themſelves, will be no ſmall perſwaſion to thoſe Heathen, both to ſubmit to their Government and to embrace the ſame profeſſion of faith with them. Or, if that power of making or conſtituting lawes be thought too abſolute and independent

dependent for the Governour and people of that Colony to be intrusted with; That the said Governour, and such representatives, agreeing upon such Laws between themselves, do first present them, to the supream power of this Nation, by one or two or more of them; and then, after they have received his stamp and impression of approbation, testified under the broad Seal of *England*, that they be of full force and power to oblige all the Inhabitants of the said Colony, to observe and yield obedience unto them. As also that the said Governour, have full leave and liberty to depute such other subordinate inferiour Magistrates and Officers in the Country, as he shall find to be fit and able, and that all such Magistrates and Officers, be responsible to him when he shall require any account from them, as himself shall be to the Supream power of this Nation.

3. That there be more care taken for the future, that persons of better manners, and of more honesty and piety be transplanted thither; both for the honour of our Nation, and of our Religion, as well as for the procuring a blessing upon that Plantation, and the averting those curses, which those wicked and ungodly wretches, heretofore planted there, have in part pulled upon it already; and do for their sakes farther threaten it. As also that it be made felony, without benefit of Clergy, for any to steal, and otherwise to insnare, any children or servants; and to sell or proffer to sell them here, or to send, or to attempt, or apparently design, to send them out of this Nation to any forein parts to be sold, without particular express licence first obtained from the Supream power of this Nation, and the knowledge and consent of their Parents, and friends of neerest relation.

4. That those Planters, who have murdered their own fellow-Planters in *Mary Land*, or murdered and otherwise injured, and abused the poor Indians, be severely and speedily punished, to the full satisfaction of both Planters and Indians, and to the vindicating of the honour of our Religion, and of the justice of our Nation, and to the deterring of all wicked persons from the like barbarous practises. And for the future, that the Laws for securing mens lives and estates; and for the preserving of peace and justice, be more sharp and severe, and

more ſtrictly executed; eſpecially for the ſecuring the Indians in their lives and eſtates, and for the Engliſh living more peaceably, and dealing more juſtly with them.

5. That the Planters be otherwiſe regulated and ordered, both in the ſettling themſelves, and in the planting of Tobacco, and in other husbanding and mannaging of their Plantations, as the Governour and his Aſſiſtants, choſen out of ſeveral Counties by the free Inhabitants thereof, ſhall from time to time, for the benefit of the publick, as well as the good of the proprietors, preſcribe and order.

6. That there be ſuch free trade allowed unto all that ſhall trade thither, as may be for the advancement of that Plantation, and not prejudicial to the Navigation and Trade of this Nation; which would be a work worthy of the moſt prudent of Law-Givers, and the wiſeſt of Counſellors, and without free trade allowed to that Plantation, all their trade there will ſcarce keep them from ſtarving.

7. That there be ſpecial care taken here, That the ſhips wch trade thither from this Nation, be well victualled with good proviſion, ſuch as will be ſufficient for the Paſſengers that are to be tranſported therein, (above what they that belong to the ſhip lay in for themſelves) according to the full extent of time wherein they uſe ordinarily to paſs; ſomething alſo being ſuperadded for extraordinary caſualties of hindrance. And when they arrive there, That ſome of the Plantation be impowred by the Governour and his Aſſiſtants, to examine, upon complaint made, whether the ſaid proviſions, ſo laid in, were expended, as was ordered. And if it ſhall appear by ſufficient teſtimony, that any Paſſengers were abuſed or wronged in their allowance, or otherwiſe, that thereupon there be a ſevere mulct or other puniſhment inflicted upon him or them that are found guilty: the one moiety thereof (if it be a pecuniary puniſhment) to be given to the perſon or perſons ſo wronged and abuſed, and the other to be diſpoſed of by the Governrur for the publick.

8. That there be certain Officers appointed in the Plantation by the Governour, for the examining the ſoundneſs, and other qualities of Tobacco and other Commodities, growing and ariſing from that Plantation; and of the juſt meaſures and weights,

weights, and the true packing up of all such commodities. And what shall be found good and marchantable to be admitted to sale; but what shall not be so, if it be offered to sale, to be forfeited; and the persons attempting to cheat Traders therewith to be otherwise punished, as the Governour and his Assistants shall see cause to appoint.

9. That there be some head townes built in each County, where the Trade of that County may be Constantly managed, and the publick transactions of all affaires be, as often as need shall require, heard & determined, and so registred and recorded. And that there be one chief Town or City so seated as that all ships, both English and foreiners, that Trade to that Plantation may conveniently repair unto It, and there discharge, if not all, yet at the least one third part of their lading; and there make due entrie both in and and out. and not to depart the County till they have their dispatch signed by the partie deputed by the Governour for that purpose.

10. That in that City, and in each head Town of each County, as also in all other places needfull and convenient there be erected fair and well-built Churches for the people of God to assemble in together to worship and serve him publikely, and to communicate of his holy ordinances solemnly and unanimously & that they be decently beautifyed & adorned both for the honour of our Religion and for the better inviting and alluring and attracting of the poor Heathen unto them, and to the performance of those religious offices and duties, that shall be reverently and devoutly practised in them; all superstitious and Idolatrous deckings and trimmings being abominated; And that there be alo pubick Schools erected for the educating both of the English & of the Indians Children in good learning and in the true Christian Religion.

11. That there be a certain coyn made current amongst them of the Planattion; that so the business of Trade and commerce amongst themselvs may be transacted with much less trouble and difficultie, than now it is, by reason of the bulkness of Tobacco, the onely thing yet used instead of coyn in that Colonie.

12. That Forts be built and maintained in all meet places, both for the keeping off all forein invasion, and for the prevening

venting or ſupreſſing any inſurrection, that may happen to be made by the Indians.

13. That a ſmall Pinnace be ſet forth and imployed to diſcover the ſouth coaſt of *Virginea* that the Navigation may be more ſafe; whereas now for want of knowing that coaſt, many ſhips miſcarry in their paſſage thither. And that every year ſome ſelect number of able, diſcreet, well-armed men, may alſo be ſent out by Land to diſcover the inland Country, and the nature and ſecrets thereof: and where one company leaves off one year, there another company, with two or thre of the former for their guides, to begin the next, and ſo to go on till they have diſcovered as much as is poſſible. And of what importance and advantage this would be to this Nation, as well as to that Colonie, men skilled in Navigation, and that wiſh well to ſuch noble attempts, eſpecially ſuch renouned Heroes as have adventured their perſons in them, will ſoon inform you.

14. In the laſt place (which will actuate and give life and motion and promotion to all the reſt; and without which all other attempts and indeavors for the good and proſperity of that Colonie, and whatſoever elſe can be deſigned by the moſt pious and publick Spirits that are concerning any particulars mentioned, will prove vain and ineffectual) As the great Lord of heaven and earth muſt be conſtantly and inceſſantly ſupplicated for his direction, aſſiſtance, and bleſſing upon what ſhall be undertaken in this great and honourable worke; ſo the Governour of that Plantation muſt be aſſiſted, ſupported, and incouraged by a comfortable and honourable allowance, that ſo he may ſpend his time wholly, (ſave what he ſpends in the more immediate worſhip and ſervice of God, and in the refreſhing and recreating his toiled body and Spirits) in and for the publick good of that Colonie. And that allowance need not to be taken out of any ſtock or treaſure of this Nation; but may be raiſed and leavied upon foreiners trading in that Country, and out of thoſe moneys which the Engliſh already uſe to pay willingly, and is by conſent of the Colonie laid upon the inhabitants that come to take up land there. All which or the greateſt part thereof hath been imbezled by inferiour unworthy men; and would amount to a very conſiderable revenue, ſufficient to maintain

maintain the Governour in all his neceſſarie expences about the Government, and afford an overplus for the raiſing of forces in time of need againſt the enemies thereof, and for the doing of many other publick workes, and in a few years afford ſomething to the publick treaſure of this Nation: and yet all the other taxes and impoſitions, under which the people of the Colonie now groan, might be taken off, which muſt not otherwiſe be hoped for or expected.

All thoſe informations and intimations of the preſent ſad ſtate and condition of the Engliſh Colonie in *Virginea*, and of the true cauſes thereof; as alſo of the ſeveral and probably-ſucceſſull meanes and waies for curing all or the moſt of her dangerous diſtempers, are humbly preſented unto your Highneſs ſerious conſideration; As the preventing its haſtening ruine is devoutly recommended to Gods gracious mercy and to your compaſſionate care. And if the ingenuity of the Indian natives, & the excellency of the Country, ſuperadded to all the other arguments, may any way invite and quicken your Highneſs in the indeavouring its reformation and preſervation; be pleaſed to admit of ſome few inſtances of both, for thoſe many, which might be given, and have been publiſhed by others, of each.

For teſtimonie of their ingenuity, ſuffer me, after ſo much tyring your patience, to recreate you with two or three tragicomical ſtories, and no fictions.

When the Engliſh complained to one of the neighbouring Indian Kings, that ſome of his Indians had taken away ſome of their Hoggs; He aſſured them, that it was contrarie to his will and command; but they might well forbear the aggravating that fact ſo much as they did; for that many of the Engliſh had oftentimes killed and carried away divers of his Deer. And when the Engliſh replyed, that their hoggs were all marked, ſo that the Indians might know them to be theirs, which they could not his deer. He preſently anſwered, Tis true indeed, none of my deer are marked, and by that you may know them to be mine: and when you meet with any that are marked, you may do with them what you pleaſe; for they are none of mine.

At another time there were twelve of the Indians murthered by the Engliſh. For which bloody fact, the King of thoſe Indians

Roanoke and wampampege are a kind of beads current amongst the Indians for money, and is as their silver and gold.

dians desired of the English, that justice might be executed upon the persons that were guilty. The English yielded thereunto, but, said the English, the satisfaction shall be made according to your Indian custome by giving so much Roanoke and Wampampege for each mans life such a quantity. The Indian king told them, that he expected such justice to be done and such punishment to be inflicted upon those murderers, as the English used to inflict upon the like amongst themselves. But seeing that would not be granted; he required that then according to the Indian custome, so many in number of the English, as there were Indians slain, should bring that Roanoke and Wampampege and tender it to him: which when they did, The Indian King, to fright them into a deeper sense of that their injustice, told them, that he would now slay eleven of them, and send back again by the twelfth, so much Roanoke and Wampampege proportionably as they had sent for the like number, that they had slain.

Another time, there were three Indians (whereof two were of great power and honour amongst them) that were accused for attempting to poyson the Governour of the English or otherwise to assasine him, And the Governour, upon the discovery thereof required of their King, that their three heads, which were in that conspiracy, should be forthwith sent unto him, for the expiating that high offence; or else he and his people would revenge it upon the said King and his people. The King being unwilling, if not affraid, by reason of the power, and as some say alliance of two of them, to execute justice in that rigour upon them all; cut of the head of one of the three, and sent it to the English Governour by the other two. The Governour being not satisfied therewith, sent those two with other messengers to their King to know the reason, why he sent him but one of those heads, when he required all three. To which the King returned this answer. That he had sent all the three heads, that the Governour demanded to be sent; And if the Governour were pleased to return two of them back again, it was to be ascribed to his goodness and mercy and not to be imputed to any failing in him who had performed what was required.

There is one story more, which I may not omit, because it

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favours not onely of wit but of more true Wisdom and Religion, than is usually found in multitudes that call themselves Christians; and that is this. When some of the English were imployed about building an house, and some other work, for an Indian King, he being by covenant to provide victuals for them, did accordingly constantly provide for them, what was necessary, the whole six daies of the week through; but when the Lords day came, and he saw the English forbear to work, and falling to sporting and playing, he commanded that no victuals should be allowed them: which when the English complained of, they had this answer returned them; That the King would allow them no victuals on that day, because on that day they did him no work. To which, when the English replyed; That that day was a day set a part to serve God in, and not a day to labour, or work in; It was told them again from the King; That if he did see them serve God on that day, they should have what is necessary allowed them; but he was sure that they could not serve God by sporting and playing.

Thus may you see, That although Wisdom (as the son of *Sirach* brings her in speaking of her self, *Eccluſ.*24.) had for a long time her dwelling in *Jacob*, and her inheritance in Israel, *ver.* 8. And so took root in an honourable people, even in the portion of the Lords inheritance, and there grew and was exalted, and stretched out her branches and cast forth a sweet smell, *ver.* 13, 14, 15, 16. And after that was transplanted, as the people and inheritance of the Lord was removed, or a new people and portion chosen, and they cast out: Yet those Nations, that were not, or yet are not, the Lords people, evermore did, and to this day do, partake of Wisdoms fruits; and in every Nation and People she got a possession, *ver.* 6. (as we call a small portion of ground taken as the earnest or seasin of the whole) in the souls of many. And that earnest or seasin may in due time, (through the Law-Givers mercy and favour) intitle her to and invest her in all the rest, when for the full compleating of that Prophecy, *Isa.* 11. 9. The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea.

Then for the excellency of the Country, If your Highness

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can but believe, in these faithless times, either what sundry men of different faith in other matters, have, as it were with one soul, written concerning this; or what divers of approved faith are ready with one voice or mouth farther to attest; You may, beyond all doubting, be assured, That the Climate of *Virginea* is healthfull, the Land exceeding fruitfull, yielding great plenty of whatsoever corn or grain is sown in it, and of all other fruits that are planted in it, and affording very great increase of all sorts of cattel that breed in it, or that it is stockt withall. The Woods, which are very vast, abound with Deer, and other beasts, whose carcases, or skins, or both, are very usefull and profitable. The Rivers are infinitely stored with all sorts of excellent Fish, and water-Fowls; as the dry Land is with other fowls. The bowels of the earth are fraught with admirable Mines of Iron, Lead, Copper, and (as some say) Silver: And for the upper parts thereof, besides what it sends forth naturally, which is much variety of delightfull and usefull commodities, It would, with a little labour and industry in planting, and keeping it, be made extraordinary rich in the production of Silk, Wine, Currants, Rasins, Flaxe, and almost any thing that any other Country yields. O that it might but once bear (as tis said of *Canaan*, *Wisdom* 12. 7.) a worthy Colony of Gods children; And then *Canaan* it self could scarce ever have been said to have excelled it. Which that it may do, shall be the earnest and incessant prayer of him, who daily prays that the Lord would incline, and move your Highness heart to contribute your best assistance to this great work, tending so much to the glory of God, the propagation of the Gospel, the good and comfort of many thousands of souls in that vast Continent, this Nations honour, and your Highness highest renown.

Your Highness humble Remonstrant,

L. G.

FINIS.